

from the bank, and so on. I objected to her plan, pointing out that she would be in imminent danger if the Nazis raided our apartment and found me gone. Finally I yielded to her arguments, a step I do not recall with pride. She went to the station with me. I crossed the frontier without trouble and wired to her in code as we had agreed.

Emma had a hard time in Berlin. The police were looking for me; the Brown Shirts came to the door for contributions to their party, which she refused to give on the pretext that the Führer himself had forbidden foreigners to intervene in Germany's domestic affairs. The publishers dodged their obligations, the banks limited withdrawals to small amounts. She had a narrow escape at the Swiss border before she joined me in Zurich.

We had chosen Zurich as the largest and most industrialized city in Switzerland, in the hope that I would find some professional work there. Very soon, however, we discovered that the only contacts we could establish were with the leaders of labor unions and a few intellectuals close to them. The unions were engaged in an electoral campaign. Their leaders were interested in measures against mass unemployment. They knew the WTB Plan and the Plan for Work in Belgium, promoted by deMan and partly copied from the ADGB program. They asked my advice in drafting a program adjusted to local conditions. The central idea of the plan I drew up for them was to establish public works projects for each canton so that work could be started as soon as unemployment exceeded a definite limit, the cost to be met jointly by the federal and cantonal governments.

Although the chances of finding regular work in Zurich seemed slim, we tried to settle in Switzerland for good. But the Swiss immigration authorities asked us for evidence that our lives were in immediate danger in Germany and that we had no other place to go. When we answered that, under the regime of violence and lawlessness in Germany, we were in the same situation as thousands of other people and that we could find asylum in half a dozen other countries, beginning with France, the Swiss denied us permanent visas. We went to France, where the government had offered asylum to refugees from Nazi Germany.

Paris had changed little since we had left it in 1922. As before, the French Socialists were divided on all issues of domestic and foreign policy. The Communists had capitalized on the collapse of the democratic regime in Germany. They had succeeded in persuading the public that only they had opposed Hitler under the Weimar Republic, and that the Republic fell because of its betrayal by the moderate Socialists.

Léon Jouhaux, the president of the French Confederation of Labor (CGT, for *Confédération Générale du Travail*) invited me to serve